

IV. TRADITIONAL INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN IN RURAL BALUCHISTAN

As illustrated above, rural women throughout Baluchistan are presently engaged in a variety of traditional economic undertakings. These activities vary from district to district and, indeed, are often different even from village to village and household to household, which makes generalizations somewhat difficult. Table 4 on the following page illustrates the array of income generating activities undertaken by our respondents from each area in which our research was conducted. This table is not meant to indicate the prevalence of these undertakings in each geographical area, but rather to simply summarize the various activities to be described in detail in this report. It should be noted that frequently individual respondents mentioned that they were active in more than one income generating activity, and this is reflected in the table.

A. THE VILLAGE ECONOMY AND RURAL WOMEN

Before discussing each of the activities listed in Table 4 in detail, however, some general comments about the village economy in Baluchistan and related topics should be noted in order to place specifically women's economic activities in a larger perspective.

A village household typically can produce a large amount of its subsistence needs such as wheat flour, vegetables, etc., and usually even a buzgar (one who farms for a landowner) is entitled to 1/3 to 1/2 of the crop. Fresh milk and occasional meat along with ghee can be obtained from a household's livestock, and eggs and meat from its chickens if the unit is lucky enough to possess such. But no household can exist without such necessities as tea, sugar, cloth, matches, etc., and the procurement of these entails entry into the cash economy.

Indeed, all of BIAD's rural communities in each district are part and parcel of Baluchistan's larger cash economy, and they have frequent contact with the urban centres in their districts. In the case of Aghbarg area this center is the capital of Quetta itself, while in the Loralai district it is the city of Loralai; in Nasirabad urban centers include Sobatpur and neighbouring Jacobabad, and in Gwadar large towns are Jawani and the city of Gwadar itself. Usually male members of each household make weekly trips by bus, ox cart, motorcycle, bicycle, or foot to the sizable bazaars in these centers in order to purchase necessary supplies unavailable locally. In each village one or two small stores are also found which contains such essentials as thread, razors, cigarettes, matches, candy, ghee, tea, sugar, aspirin, perhaps some popular traditional medicines, and other sundries. Exchange in these shops is usually on a cash basis. In addition, travelling banjara (male merchants on bicycle) go house-to-house and peddle their wares such as thread, yarn, embroidery supplies, bracelets, etc., to secluded women who most often accomplish their transactions with cash. 7/

7/ This does not mean that some exchange in kind does not occur. In both city and village this takes place, but in the BIAD communities in which our research was undertaken cash is by far the more prevalent means of exchange -- for both men and women.

**TABLE 4 : TRADITIONAL INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITY OF WOMEN
IN RURAL BALUCHISTAN (N=34)***

	ACTIVITY	Location				TOTAL TIMES MENTIONED
		ACHBARC (N=14)	LORALAI (N=8)	MASIRABAD (N=6)	GWADAR (N=6)	
1.	Embroidery	7	6	6	2	21
2.	Tailoring	7	5	3	3	18
3.	Egg Selling	8	-	-	-	8
4.	Quilt Making	6	-	1	1	8
5.	Wool Spinning	6	-	-	-	6
6.	Field Labor	3	-	1	-	4
7.	<u>Dari</u> (Flat-Weave Rug) Making	4	-	-	-	4
8.	Chicken Selling	1	-	1	-	2
9.	Reed Mat Weaving	-	-	-	2	2
10.	Quran Teaching	1	1	-	-	2
11.	House-to-House Trading	-	-	-	2	2
12.	<u>Dai</u> Work (Traditional Midwifery)	1	1	-	-	2
13.	Ghee Selling	1	-	-	-	1
14.	<u>Tawiz</u> (Amulet) Cover Making	1	-	-	-	1
15.	Public Singing (At Ceremonies)	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL TIMES MENTIONED		46	13	13	10	82

* An individual respondent often mentioned that she is active in more than one income generating activity.

It is in cash that the vast majority of women in our sample are also remunerated for their work by their clients. The specific amounts obtained are discussed below according to each activity; at this point it is simply important to note that the women are paid in rupees.

As far as their clientele is concerned, this varies according to activity. For example, local village transactions through female networks are usually made for embroidery of dress-fronts, tailoring, quilt making, wool spinning, and the like. In contrast, male members of a household may often transport embroidered caps made by their wives to a nearby urban center to sell to a local shopkeeper. The same is also true for dari (flat-weave rugs), and eggs and ghee may also enter the wider economy through similar means. This topic of clientele, along with payment and what is subsequently done with the amount, is reviewed in more detail below.

All women in Baluchistan's villages are affected by the tradition of parda ("curtain;" female seclusion) to one degree or another and, as this serves to limit their mobility and degree of contact with others, this directly affects the type of income generating activities they undertake. As mentioned above, however, this strictness to which parda is adhered may vary according to ethnic group, residence pattern, class, age of individual, etc.

For example, on the basis of ethnicity, generally Pushtun women are more strictly secluded than are Baluch females. This is also related to the physical structure of their households; Pushtun units in such areas as Loralai are surrounded by high compound walls and, in contrast, Baluch households in districts like Nasirabad and Gwadar are often without any type of walled arrangement. In Pushtun communities women's mobility is often circumscribed to their own compounds or to local neighbourhoods; in Baluch villages women usually have open access to the community as a whole, but beyond this movement is sometimes limited. 8/ Thus it is in these more open settings of Baluch villages that women themselves carry on such economic undertakings as house-to-house trading or doing agricultural work in the fields. 9/

As noted above, it is largely women from households of low socio-economic standing who participate in income generating activities. 10/

8/ See Page 29 below for a more detailed discussion of women's mobility with respect to the establishment of BIAD community centres.

9/ Dai work, or traditional midwifery, is common in both Pushtun and Baluch areas, and involves movement from one household to another. Usually dais are older women, though, and thus are allowed more freedom of movement. See BIAD/UNICEF Sociocultural Research Report # 1 for more detail.

10/ One well-to-do woman in Aghbarg responded as follows to our comments about income generating activities: "We teach our daughters to be home-makers -- that's all. Sure, skills are nice to have, but we're too busy with our own work and when we are free we just want to rest."

It is these individuals who usually are not so strictly secluded. Indeed, they cannot afford to be, for as Abdullah and Zeidenstein (1979:345) have also noted for rural Bangladesh:

Appropriate behavior for high-status women includes strict purdah, complete sexual division of labor, and relative freedom from menial work. Only families in good economic condition can afford to support such behavior...

For example, women in the households of well-to-do Baluch wadera or landlords, of which there is usually one per community, are often in strict parda which is perceived as a sign of status. In contrast, women of their hari (laborer) families possess more freedom of movement -- and must also fetch water, care for livestock, and work in the fields, along with often engaging in income generating activities in order to make ends meet in their household economies.

Regardless of ethnic group, however, it must be noted that all of the income generating activities undertaken by these rural women are marginal to the mainstream of the economy and are most often accomplished in their own households. They are piecemeal activities in the informal sector which are often unpredictable and highly competitive. Pastner (1978:440), in her discussion of rural women in Panjgur, Baluchistan, correctly characterizes their work as follows:

A greater physical mobility, and even financial independence, sets these working women off from others, but it should be emphasized that their labors are relegated to the nonpublic, female sphere of social life.

In spite of such mobility limitations, however, there is much visiting back and forth between village households, and such events as weddings, circumcisions, funerals, etc., all offer legitimate reasons for women to assemble. Sometimes village women also form informal self-help groups if one individual needs some embroidery done, a quilt made, or wool spun. The women gather in one house, accomplish the task together without any cost, and spend the day exchanging news and socializing. 11/

11/ Such self-help groups should be explored with reference to future BIAD activities. Knowing the composition and leadership structure of these informal structures can be helpful in fostering participation in programme activities.

Also of interest in the Aghbarg area is another informal neighbourhood women's group that assembles every once in a while in order to go on picnics in the nearby mountains. Usually about six women and their children carry their food and water for tea with them and, on their way home after a day-long picnic, they often gather chinchin bot, a wild bush which is used as a medicine for colds or as a broom.

Village women's daily activities are many, and most individuals must follow a strict schedule in order to complete their numerous chores and to keep their households running smoothly. Combined with the usual tasks of cooking, cleaning, and childcare, females often have to also fetch water, ^{12/} take care of livestock and, in some cases, work in the fields. Young daughters usually provide much-needed assistance to their mothers with taking care of younger siblings and with other household chores. Also, in households which are extended in structure, other adult women such as mothers-in-law assist with childcare and other tasks.

With careful time allotment, however, many women are able to apportion their daily tasks accordingly so that their afternoons are free, and it is during this period of the day -- from 12 o'clock to approximately 3-4 o'clock -- that village women undertake their income generating activities. Thus it is evident that, although their lives are extremely busy, many rural women are able to find the time to do some sort of activity in order to make some money. Some of these undertakings are described in detail in the paragraphs below.

B. SPECIFIC ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN

1. EMBROIDERY

Embroidery work is the most common income generating activity among the women in our sample, being accomplished by respondents in all districts: Aghbarg (N=7), Loralai (N=6), Nasirabad (N=6), and Gwadar (N=2). (See Table 4 on page 11.) Indeed, embroidery is an undertaking that most females -- both Pushtun and Baluch -- learn early in life from mothers or grandmothers and perform not only for their own household needs but also for their own enjoyment and recreation. It is a skill especially valuable in preparing a daughter's dowry (Pushtu=kor or kardar; Baluch=doj; Urdu=jaheyz), which is a common tradition in Baluchistan. For example, a middle-class woman in Loralai who is an expert embroideress related the following:

"I sell some of my work and also save some for my daughters' dowries. We Pushtuns start making embroidered dresses when a girl is born, and thus we are able to give her 15 dresses or so in her dowry when she gets married. One dress takes one year to complete, and it often costs 3000-4000 rupees in all.

We also take volvar ("bride-price;" money paid by the groom's family to that of the bride) for our girls and so we must pay the groom's family something back. I will take 40,000 rupees for one of my daughters, and I will give her 15 dresses, quilts, and other things to take along to her husband's house."

^{12/} See also BIAD/UNICEF Sociocultural Report # 3 concerning women's roles in water and sanitation.

Pushtun Embroidery

Embroidery style and design differ according to ethnic group and, in general, Pushtun embroidery is thicker and heavier than that of the Baluch. There are two major categories of work, both of which employ a variety of traditional designs:

omah-kar: This is a common type of embroidery used on the dress-fronts and hems of women's every-day clothes. Omah ("raw" or unfinished) - kar (work) is done with silver or gold thread, or sometimes with morina thread which is made of wool; these materials are comparatively cheap.

pokh-kar: The intricate embroidery which is done on women's fancy dress fronts is called pokh ("cooked" or finished) - kar (work). This uses abrishom (pure silk) thread which is quite expensive. One of the major stitches in this category is termed chucken, which is a detailed net-work of small stitches with every line of embroidery connected with the next. It is very delicate work which literally covers the front of the dress top and often the whole sleeves also. This is most often done for brides' wedding dresses; women from rich families also wear such dresses to parties as an expression of their high status.

Some women also know intricate Kandahari work which is done on men's shirt-fronts or on scarves with shiny white thread. This is a style originally from Kandahar in southern Afghanistan.

Baluch Embroidery

Lighter than Pushtun work, Baluch embroidery is divided into many categories, the major ones of which include:

kundi: a thick stitch made by pushing a hooked needle repeatedly through the material to form a series of loops

jamalko: a detailed zig-zag pattern

katlo: a small cross-stitch pattern

shisha: work in which small round mirrors are embroidered to the cloth

Makrani-work: solid embroidery usually done in seven different colors (Makran=the coastal area of Baluchistan)

The first three types of embroidery -- kundi, jamalko, and katlo -- are most often done in hot areas such as Nasirabad where heavy clothes are not worn. Most often these are applied to women's dress-fronts which are made of light-weight cotton. Shisha or mirror work is probably the most famous Baluch handwork which is often done commercially. Mirrors are applied to women's dresses, caps, bed covers, cushions, etc. ^{13/} This type, along with Makrani work, is usually quite expensive, and these are especially worn for weddings and other special occasions.

In addition to the embroidery of dress-fronts and caps, both Pushtun and Baluch women also make colorful shelf borders, pillow covers, bed covers, etc., utilizing their traditional patterns or employing in many instances tapay-kor; the latter is the tracing onto material of commercial designs from catalogues which are commonly available in urban bazaars. ^{14/}

Supplies

In cases where embroidery is sold, the customers usually provide all of the necessary materials and sometimes they specify the desired design for the work too. In some cases, however, the seamstress herself furnishes the supplies -- such as cloth and thread -- and then charges the customer extra. She may obtain the material from a banjara (a male merchant on bicycle) who visits rural communities periodically from a nearby urban center and goes door-to-door peddling his wares to secluded women. Usually he can provide them with embroidery necessities such as thread, mirrors, needles, etc. Sometimes women's husbands also purchase needed materials during their weekly trips to nearby urban centers, or children are sent by the women to buy from local village shops.

Clientele

Women obtain work primarily from their own local communities, but if one is famous for her quality embroidery she may often receive work from outside her village also. Respondents frequently stated that they did most of their embroidery work for wives of village leaders or for other rich people in their communities.

For example, in Baluch villages women noted that a wadera's (landlord's) wife often sends cloth and thread with her maidservant along with ideas for a design. "We never go to their houses ourselves," said one poor seamstress in Nasirabad.

^{13/} Pushtun embroidery also utilizes some mirror work, but it is usually not applied to women's dresses.

^{14/} Innovations in tapay-kor are possible through silk-screening. See Page 31.

Time Allotment

The time that women spend on their embroidery work varies considerably, although most do this in their free afternoons. As one housewife from Nasirabad mentioned,

"I wash and clean house every morning, and then I work on this embroidery from about 12:00 to 3-4:00. Then that's about the time that the cows come home, and so I have to begin taking care of them and doing my other tasks for the evening meal."

As far as how long it takes for a women to complete a piece of embroidery, this is also variable and depends on a number of factors -- such as how much free time she has, her individual skill, and also the specific type of work involved.

For example, a woman from Loralai noted that she is extremely fast at her work and thus she can complete one dress-front in only two weeks if she works daily. Her daughter helps with the household tasks, and thus the woman has much free time for her income generating activity. But, on the other hand, many individuals are overly occupied with their housework. As another individual in Aghbarg mentioned, she had done an extensive amount of embroidery prior to the marriage of her eldest daughter but now she had a baby of one year and no one to help her at home; thus her embroidery work was extremely slow in completion.

The type of work is a primary determinant of time taken. Simple embroidery of dress-fronts takes one month or less, but the heavy traditional Pushtu or Baluch work demands three to six months to finish. Smaller objects such as caps or belts take a few weeks to a month.

It should be noted that the majority of respondents said that they had enough time for even a larger work-load than they presently have. 15/

Money Obtained

The cash received for embroidery work is also dependent upon the time taken to complete an object and the specific type of work involved. Prices demanded are extremely flexible, however, as this response from a women in Gwadar illustrates:

"I usually charge 100 rupees for one dress-front but if I do it for a friend then I only ask for 50 rupees and if it's for a stranger than I say that I want 150 rupees!"

In addition, some women are not so strident in their demands for payment, such as this individual from Nasirabad:

"The wadera's (landlord's) women decide themselves what they will pay me for my work -- I don't tell them the cost. It's their wish, and sometimes they don't even pay me at all..."

Some typical figures can be quoted, however:

<u>Pushtun Embroidery</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Simple <u>omah</u> dress-front	100-300 rupees
Simple <u>omah</u> sleeves	100-200 rupees
Complex <u>pokh/chucken</u> dress-front	1500-3000 rupees
Complex <u>pokh/chucken</u> sleeves (half)	600-1000 rupees
(full)	1500-2000 rupees
<u>Baluch Embroidery</u>	
<u>kundi</u>	35-100 rupees
<u>jamalko</u>	800-150 rupees
<u>katlo</u>	15-50 rupees
<u>shisha,</u> <u>Makrani</u>	300-1000 rupees

Some other figures regardless of ethnicity include:

cap	50-150 rupees
pillow cover	15-30 rupees
shelf border	50 rupees
mirrored bed set	500 rupees

It was difficult for most respondents to estimate what total amount they earned per month through their embroidery because work was extremely erratic. A common range was from 150-400 rupees earned per month.

2. TAILORING

Tailoring is the second most common money-making activity in which our respondents are active. Similar to embroidery, this work can be done easily while sitting at home. In our sample (Table 4) 7 women in Aghbarg, 6 in Loralai, 6 in Nasirabad, and 2 in Gwadar are engaged in this economic undertaking.

A number of women told us that they learned this skill by themselves simply through experience and, in general, it is considered "easier than embroidery." It is also not as regular a work activity as embroidery, through. Often villagers have their own sewing machines, and

many women do tailoring just for their own families. The well-to-do also frequently patronize more established tailors in the largest urban centers. But a number of women do make money as seamstresses based in their own homes. They are especially busy at the time of Eid celebrations or when a wedding occurs locally, for it is at these periods when many women and children need new suits of clothes.

As noted above, there is much work that goes into traditional Pushtun and Baluch dresses and, in addition to embroidery, this includes a large amount of machine work. Both ethnic groups sew designs with different kinds of colorful tape or lace to decorate their clothing. For example, Pushtun women apply silver or cotton tapes to the bottom of their hems: this involves considerable machine work, for a skirt is usually 4-5 yards around its base and the width of the design is often 5-10 inches. If it is a bride's skirt then even more work is necessary. Baluch women most frequently decorate not only the base of their skirts but also their dress-fronts with tape or lace of a more delicate quality.

Our respondents stated that they mostly prepare suits for women and children, but some also mentioned that they sometimes sew men's suits too. For example, one very skilled woman in the Aghbarg area helps her husband with his tailoring work for males. She has been doing this for the past 10 years, and they now have a thriving home-based business.

In recent years a number of changes have occurred in Baluchistan's villages, and even clothing styles are being affected. More contact is occurring with nearby cities, and more individuals -- both men and women -- are wearing what is often termed "Punjabi" fashions. In general, this is apparent more frequently in Baluch rather than Pushtun areas. Regardless of area, however, this holds implications for local tailoring activities, as village tailors attempt to keep up with the changing styles.

Supplies

Customers always provide the cloth themselves, but very often the tailors themselves are responsible for furnishing the necessary thread and tape. If the women buy these articles by themselves, then they subsequently charge more for their finished products.

Travelling traders (banjara) may furnish these supplies, or, in the case of many Baluch seamstresses, they themselves make periodic bazaar trips to purchase these goods.

Clientele

Customers include those women who do not know how to sew or who do not have their own sewing machine. As mentioned above, often the rich residents of a village patronize a tailor in a nearby town. Most women said that their clientele was composed of largely poor people, and one individual mentioned that her customers were mostly nomads who passed through the area periodically.

WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES IN RURAL BALUCHISTAN

I. INTRODUCTION

Rural women in Baluchistan are presently engaged in a variety of income generating activities in communities throughout the province, and these economic undertakings furnish needed supplementation to their household budgets. The major objectives of this report are 1.) to present a detailed analysis of these traditional activities, and 2.) to present recommendations as to how the BIAD (Baluchistan Integrated Area Development) programme can best assist in enhancing traditional income generating undertakings and in establishing new ones. 1/

This is a topic of special importance for UNICEF whose focus upon mother and child welfare compels us to examine various economic factors affecting the wellbeing of families. As Youssef (1983:2), Senior Policy Specialist for UNICEF, has noted in a recent review of the organization's programmes promoting women's participation in economic activities:

UNICEF has embarked on a policy oriented towards improving women's participation in economic activities ... because of the increasing awareness that the economic condition of poor women is a crucial determinant of children's welfare.

The general premise is that if a woman's economic standing is improved or made more secure, this will positively affect her children's lifestyle.

In order to better understand this dynamic relationship, consideration must be given to the traditional roles of women as childcare providers and also to their traditional roles as producers for their household units. Also of crucial importance is an understanding of the degree of influence women have in the allocation of resources within their families. Research presented in this report is a first step towards exploring these topics within the specific context of rural Baluchistan.

This study presents a sociocultural perspective towards women's income generating activities in various villages throughout the province. In other words, it focuses upon social relationships obtained between rural women and both their family members and their communities, which are guided by cultural beliefs held by the actors, or individuals involved.

Similar to other analyses of the economic activities of rural women in developing countries (Abdullah and Zeidenstein 1979; Anwar Khan and Faiz, 1976; Davis 1978; Guyer 1980; Okeyo 1979), this research shows that women do play a very active role in the subsistence activities of their households. These income generating undertakings are, however, primarily in the informal sector of the economy (i.e., marginal activities which are outside the mainstream of the economy and are highly competitive and unpredictable).

1/ See Appendix A for a discussion of Baluchistan and the BIAD programme.

Time Allotment

Time necessary to complete a suit varies with the type of work. If it is a simple suit, then it takes only 1-3 hours to finish. But if there is fancy tape or lace work to be added, then it may take 2-4 days in all.

As in the case of embroidery, it is mostly in the early afternoons that village women find time to do their tailoring. If there are other females in the household to assist with tasks, then more time can be devoted to this income generating undertaking.

If at all possible, when these women have tailoring tasks to complete they devote full time to them because this is not regular work and they want to complete the suit promptly. Normally a woman sews only 1-2 suits per month. At Eid time it is not unusual to complete 20 suits, however, and as a woman in Loralai noted, when a wedding occurs she may be called upon to decorate 10 skirts or more with colorful tapes.

Money Obtained

Charges for this work are extremely flexible. Usually 5 rupees are obtained for baby clothes, 10 rupees for a child's suit, and 20-30 rupees for an adult's suit of clothes. If tape or lace is applied, then the cost is more. For example, a Baluch dress sewed with tape costs from 30 to 50 rupees, and if the shalwar (loose fitting pants) are also sewed with tape this costs 15-25 rupees extra. Tape applied to one Pushtun skirt usually costs from 10 to 40 rupees depending upon the width and pattern of the work.

Some women mentioned that if the material used is very fine, then they charge more; others stated that their charges depend upon the socio-economic standing of the customers themselves.

In general, approximately 100-200 rupees can be earned by these women each month through their tailoring work.

3. EGG SELLING

This was found to be a common activity especially among women in the Aghbarg area near the city of Quetta. In total, we spoke with eight women who were selling eggs on a regular basis. A brief example taken from fieldnotes will illustrate:

Every week Bi Bi Jon sells approximately one dozen eggs. Seemingly these eggs are money in the bank, so to speak. She related how just recently her son needed money for school fees; she sent him to the local shop in Mehrabzai with eight eggs which he then converted into cash and then went on to school. This appears to be quite a common practice.

The women in our sample have from 4 to 20 hens and baby chicks. Usually they buy the fowl with their own money and consider them their personal possessions. The birds are kept in small mud structures near the women's homes and are fed wheat, dry bread, and old food.

In the Aghbarg communities, women may sell to other villagers, to local village shops, or to a banjara (travelling trader on a bicycle) who comes door-to-door periodically. This trader usually comes from Quetta or from other neighboring settlements. In addition, male members of the women's families may take the eggs by bus to Quetta itself to sell. The eggs are transported in a tokri (small basket), and not many are said to be lost through breakage.

On an average it appears that one can obtain about one dozen eggs per week. Locally the cost is 6 rupees per dozen, while in Quetta a dozen can fetch 3-9 rupees. Interestingly, this also varies seasonally, and in winter one may obtain even 12 rupees per dozen. Eggs are considered humowally hot, 16/ and thus are much desired in the cold winter months. In the summer, however, not so many people consume eggs and thus the price falls.

The families of the egg sellers also consume some of the eggs. And, as we observed during our research, a community may gather eggs from individual households if a wedding occurs; these are then boiled, colored, and given to the bride as metai (a special gift of sweets).

Many of these women noted that their hens were sickly, and rather than giving a dozen eggs per week they only received a dozen per month. Others noted that they used to raise hens but the fowl had died due to illness. A number of respondents asked us for medicines and inoculations in order to improve the health of their birds.

4. QUILT MAKING

Quilt making is quite popular among poor and aged village women in Baluchistan. Many individuals sew quilts for their own needs, but a number also do this for money too. Especially the traditional quilts of Nasirabad are famous throughout Pakistan; these rilli are made of small pieces of different colored cloth stitched in a variety of designs. In our field research we spoke with 8 women who are quilt makers out of a total of 34 respondents.

Clients provide all necessary materials -- cotton, cloth, thread, etc. The women workers often do the sewing in their own homes, or sometimes they are called to the compounds of the customers. Especially

16/ According to ancient humoral principles, foodstuffs are classified as hot or cold according to their perceived inherent nature. These principles guide many villagers' diets in Baluchistan and also form a central part of the indigenous medical system. See BIAD/UNICEF Sociocultural Research Report # 1 which concerns the dai and humoral medicine.

wealthy villagers are clients; special orders may also be placed to prepare fancy marriage quilts or others which are given as gifts.

As far as time is concerned, the aged women engaged in this activity are usually free from many household tasks and thus they often can spend complete days at this work. Sometimes two women sew a quilt together to complete the tasks quickly, and then share the money received.

One simple quilt takes from 2-4 days to complete, while a complex rilli pattern may not be finished in even a month. Some respondents stated that they only sewed five or less quilts per year and they complained that they did not have a heavy enough work load. One active woman said that she usually sewed 1-3 per month, however.

The cost for the preparation of a simple quilt is usually 20-40 rupees, while a quilt with a difficult design costs more than 50 rupees. 17/

5. WOOL SPINNING

Similar to quilt making, this too is an activity which is usually undertaken by older village women in their free time. We met six women who were involved in wool spinning (jalak) in return for payment in the Aghbarg area, and also located a number of others who were doing this for their own household consumption. Usually dari or kot (flat-weave rugs) are later woven from this wool.

The women who do this task for others mentioned that they usually turn the wool onto wooden spindles in their free time in their own compounds.

Customers bring them raw wool, later weigh the spun product, and pay them accordingly. Usually one ser (0.93 kg) brings them from 10 to 30 rupees. The cost varies according to the thinness of the final product and the quality of wool itself, the thinner being more expensive. A common amount made per month is only 30-40 rupees, although some stated that they have made 100-200 rupees in some busy months.

In recent years it seems that this activity has been decreasing in popularity because many villagers now prefer to sell their wool to large dealers in Quetta rather than have their own rugs prepared.

6. FIELD LABOR

Women work as field laborers during the harvests of such crops as wheat, potatoes, onions, and zera (cumin), and also during the weeding of rice fields.

17/ This is one income generating activity which seems to be also traditionally paid in kind, with the quilt maker often receiving one ser (0.93 kg) of sugar in addition to cash.

They work from dawn to dusk in the fields on the request of the landlord, and often serve a number of individuals in the village during one season.

Payment depends upon the type of work completed. A common rate is 10-15 rupees per day for women, with men paid 20 rupees because it seems to be assumed that they will be able to accomplish more. Sometimes the workers also receive one man (40 sers) of wheat or rice for one month's work. The landlord does not pay the workers daily but only after all of the desired work is completed. One woman in Aghbarg mentioned:

"The landlords can calculate how many days I have worked for them, but I have to just count on my fingers and I feel that I'm cheated sometimes .."

Another enterprising woman related the following:

"This year I made 120 rupees in all for the wheat harvest. Then I worked 30 days at 15 rupees a day for another crop, and 6 days at 20 rupees a day for another landlord."

Thus she had made 690 rupees in all for the harvest of various crops over a period of a few months.

When these women are engaged in such agricultural work, they leave their children at home usually in the care of an older sibling or a grandmother.

7. DARI (FLAT-WEAVE RUG) MAKING

Baluch or Brahvi women weave dari or kont (flat-weave rugs) on horizontal looms. 18/ This is said to be a difficult task which demands much skill. A variety of intricate patterns appear on these rugs, which are most frequently red or brown in color and often comprise part of a young girl's dowry. The weaving usually is done in the fall after the harvest is completed.

Women learn how to weave from older females in their families, and we spoke with a few individuals who said that they were instructing younger females in their households. But one respondent answered negatively:

"No, I didn't teach my daughter how to weave. We've married her to a rich man and thus she won't have to make dari."

Rugs are woven in their own homes. There is no specified time for the work, and if they are free they may spend the whole day weaving. Sometimes other family members also help them with some portions of a rug.

18/ Pushtun men from Peshawar also travel to villages to weave such rugs in some northern areas of Baluchistan.

Customers provide the women with all supplies; usually these clients come from the same village as the weavers.

For a simple rug 30-50 rupees per yard is charged. If it is a more delicate quality of wool or more complex design, then 100-150 rupees may be charged per yard. The total cost depends on the length, width, and design of the rug. A normal dari is about 2½ or 3 yards long and 1½ yards wide, and this usually takes 1-2 months to complete. The women with whom we spoke said that they did not receive many orders though, doing only 2-5 rugs per year.

8. CHICKEN SELLING

This is far less popular than egg selling and, indeed, with only a small number of fowl, women rather keep them for their egg production. There is a market for chickens, however, and a few individuals noted that they infrequently would sell a bird.

In Aghbarg women send their chickens to Quetta with their husbands for sale in the large bazaar; in Nasirabad sometimes local wadera (landlords) buy villagers' chickens if they have guests. Prices range from 25-50 rupees each.

9. REED MAT WEAVING

The weaving of tagird or peesh (reed mats) is done by women in the Gwadar district where the plants are locally found. They are used for hut walls and roofs or as floor coverings. Customers from both village and town place special orders and supply all the reed themselves.

The normal size of a mat is 2½ yards by 4 yards, which takes a week or two to complete. Its cost is from 50-100 rupees. A whole roof costs 300 rupees, while a small panla (fan) is 20 rupees and prayer mat is 30 rupees.

Some women can complete 4 normal-sized mats per month, while others do not have such business and finish only 4-7 per year.

10. QURAN TEACHING

Village women who know the Quran, who are few in number and often are the wives of local mullahs (Islamic religious leaders), sometimes teach community children informally in their homes. Classes are larger in the winters than in summers and may contain from 5-10 youngsters -- both boys and girls. For this service the teachers do not receive cash payment but usually are given wheat, sweets, etc., at the beginning and end of the course of study by the families of the students. Reward for these women is thought to also come in the form of sawab (religious merit).

11. HOUSE-TO-HOUSE TRADING

House-to-house trading (saudagiri) is carried out by enterprising women in Baluch areas such as the Gwadar district where female mobility is more than in Pushtun regions where male banjara (traders on bicycle) accomplish similar services. These Baluch women usually travel by foot or jeep to nearby urban centers such as the city of Gwadar or Jawani, purchase their wares, and then sell them house-to-house in the surrounding rural communities.

One woman with whom we spoke sells a variety of prepared food-stuffs such as cooked chickpeas, small biscuits, and packaged candies, corncuris, etc. The mark-up of the latter is 150%; in the town the cost is 1 rupee while this trader sells a package for 2½ rupees.

Another respondent sells a variety of cloth pieces, chadar (shawls) and embroidery tapes which she gets on commission from shopkeepers in Gwadar city. Seemingly she makes only 8 anna (½ rupee) per meter of cloth and 8 anna per chadar. But she also purchases other things in town on order from village women and makes additional profit in this way. Prior to the closing of the Iranian border she used to also sell soap, sponges, and plastic-ware.

12. DAI WORK (TRADITIONAL MIDWIFERY) 19/

In almost every rural community there are women who provide the much-needed health services of delivering babies -- in addition to treating a variety of illnesses of women and children. This is often a family skill which is handed down from one generation to another. These indigenous health practitioners are often skilled herbalists who sell their preparations to their patients.

Patient loads vary considerably, with an average of about 4-5 babies delivered per month. Payment is usually 5-50 rupees from a poor family and perhaps 100 rupees from a richer unit.

13. GHEE SELLING

If village women have access to enough livestock, they may sell ghee to other villagers or send it for sale in the nearby bazaars. For example, one of our respondents in Aghbarg noted that her son works as shepherd for the local malik (village leader), and in reward the family is entitled to the milk and ghee produced by the flock of 20-30 sheep and goats. Later the malik will take the animals for slaughter.

19/ For a detailed analysis of the dai in Baluchistan see Sociocultural Research Report # 1, The Dai (Traditional Midwife) in Rural Baluchistan: Tradition and Change.

The quantity of ghee able to be produced depends on the season; it is mostly in spring when offspring are born and the flock gives milk. About 3-4 ser (1 ser = 0.93 kg) of ghee can be provided per month, which fetches 50 rupees per ser in the Quetta bazaar. Some of this the family saves and consumes itself, however.

14. TAWIZ (AMULET) COVER MAKING

In one village leader's home in Aghbarg we met his sister-in-law who was making tawiz (amulet) covers out of colorful beads. This is very delicate time-consuming work. The woman told us that her mother is also doing this in a nearby village. A shopkeeper in Quetta had ordered the preparation of the covers, and he had provided all the materials.

Working in her free time in the early afternoons, this woman can complete 25 covers each week, and she is paid 15 rupees per dozen. This is only one example of a variety of beadwork that women in Baluchistan undertake.

15. PUBLIC SINGING (AT CEREMONIES)

There is a specific class of poor Baluch or Brahvi which is called Lori. 20/ Lori usually are blacksmiths and make a variety of agricultural tools. The males also serve as barbers, perform circumcisions and beat drums and sing at marriages and other ceremonies.

Women of these families often accompany their husbands by also singing at such events. Other villagers pay them money according to the time spent in singing and drum beating. Sometimes they receive payment in kind, too, and obtain wheat, clothing, etc.

C. INCOME GENERATED BY WOMEN AND THE HOUSEHOLD BUDGET

As mentioned above, 21/ when our respondents (N=34) were asked why they were working at their respective income generating activity the answers were as follows:

Due to poverty	22
To help the household budget	12
Total	<u>34</u>

20/ In Pushtun communities this class is known as ostkar or dom.

21/ See Section III, Page 9.

In general, there is correspondence between the reasons for these women working and the socio-economic standing of their households units. Those of low socio-economic standing work out of pure necessity, while those of average socio-economic standing in order to provide supplement to an already sufficient, albeit perhaps meager, household budget. 22/

The money made by those women who work due to their poverty (N=22) is spent almost immediately on household subsistence needs or on needs of their children. In most cases the women themselves decide how to spend their earnings, and they do not turn their earnings over to their husbands. Purchases usually include foodstuffs, soap, clothing, or shoes for the children. One example from a village in Nasirabad will suffice:

The young mother of four children said that she does embroidery quite frequently for money and also works in the wadera's (landlord's) fields. Her small household is below average in socio-economic standing, but it is very clean and well-kept and all of the children were chubby and red-checked.

"I never save any of the money I make, but I rather spend it right away on things I need for the house, food, or clothing for the children. We're poor ..."

In the case of the second category of women workers (N=12) whose income supplements their household budgets, here too they are not obliged to turn their earnings over to their husbands but rather decide how to spend the amount themselves. As one hard-working woman in Loralai said,

"The embroidery I do pains my fingers -- why should I give my hard-earned money to my husband?"

Her husband never asks about the money she makes, which she usually spends on her children's clothing and their general needs or on her clothing. She never is called upon to contribute to the general household budget which her husband manages. The woman is free to spend her money according to her own desires.

It is quite common for these women to have their own separate budgets, with sharing between spouses often occurring if one of the couple is low on cash. Rather than demanding money, many husbands appear rather easygoing about their wives' income generating activities, as

22/ See the socio-economic classification of respondents' households on Page 7.

this example from Aghbarg illustrates:

The women in this household have about 15 hens. Each woman owns individual hens, and sells their eggs for cash. One husband who was listening to our conversation kiddingly said, "The women feed the chickens our wheat and then get money for themselves!"

As noted above, a number of respondents from households which can afford to do so are saving for the dowries of their daughters. One woman from Aghbarg does tailoring and is able to earn about 100-120 rupees per month:

"I have six daughters, and I'm putting away small articles all the time for my daughters with the money I earn. For my eldest daughter I've already arranged a dowry this way."

She does not spend any of the money she earns on household or subsistence materials, for this is in the hands of her husband. This family can afford such a system. Indeed, this woman said that if her husband needs some extra cash, then she gives it to him on loan.

Often a portion of an individual's earnings is reinvested into the income generating activity itself, as another response from a middle-class woman in a village of the Loralai district indicates:

"If my embroidery work is regular, I can make about 500 rupees every month. I usually use some of this to buy more supplies for more embroidery, and then spend the rest on my children -- last week I bought a suit for my son."

It is difficult to estimate an average monthly income obtained by our respondents because both work-load and prices charged are extremely irregular. Poor women often quoted 100-200 rupees per month as a reasonable figure as to how much money they usually made; 200-300 rupees also was a common sum, and the highest amount said to be obtained very infrequently was 500 rupees per month through regular embroidery work.

Many individuals undertake more than one economic activity in order to make ends meet. For example, one enterprising woman in Aghbarg is active in tailoring, wool spinning, quilt making, egg selling, and dai work. The fact that these are many in number serves to add some consistency to the monthly income she is able to receive.

This section has contained a summary of some of the major traditional income generating activities in which rural women are involved in Baluchistan. We now turn to a discussion as to how BIAD/UNICEF's work can enhance these traditional undertakings and also can establish new means through which women may improve the economic situation of their households.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE BIAD PROGRAMME

From the above analysis, it is clear that rural women of Baluchistan are presently engaged in a number of different types of income generating activities. They usually have control over the money they make, and it is frequently spent on their children's livelihood. In this context, there are many ways in which BIAD/UNICEF can assist in improving the economic standing of these rural women and, correspondingly, that of their children. Specific projects in each district should be initiated with this goal in mind.

The social worker on every district mobile team of BIAD is presented daily with a number of opportunities through which to assist these women, and she should creatively identify both traditional activities which can be enhanced and new ones which can be established. It is clear that many rural women are anxious to work on a more regular and organized basis, and that many do have time in their busy schedules to devote to additional income generation activities.

In introducing socio-economic changes, however, it should be remembered that villagers are usually very pragmatic and, as McCarthy (1977:364) has aptly noted,

Village women are not opposed to or relectant to change, but anything offered must be viewed by them as a practical and feasible alternative to whatever presently exists.

Thus, when a specific project is begun, it should be one that is desired by local women, and it must be carefully planned and later carefully implemented in order to assure success and provide positive results for the participants. It is better to have successful follow-up with one project than to begin a number of activities at one time and then not be able to complete any.

Follow-up is crucial for a project's achievement of its goals. Respondents noted that embroidery projects had been established in previous years in Aghbarg, Loralai, and also Nasirabad specifically for the purpose of increasing women's income, but each of them had been subsequently discontinued. It appears that lack of follow-up combined with very low returns for the participants played a role in making these alternatives undesirable for the villagers.

A central concept of BIAD is the community centre, one of which will be constructed in each cluster of villages included in the programme. This centre will be the site of a number of women's activities pertaining to income generation -- both traditional undertakings and new ones -- and thus it is very important for it to be an acceptable meeting place for females of the community.

First of all, mobile teams must assist in choosing a suitable location for the centre to which all villages have as easy access as possible. Due to their familiarity with the community, team members will know local women's mobility patterns and will know local customs

Indeed, it is important to note at the outset that there are some sociocultural constraints in Baluchistan's villages which serve to limit women's participation in income generating activities. The most prevalent of these is *parda* ("curtain"), or the seclusion of women to one degree or another. In this traditional framework the male is seen to be the provider, the bread-winner who functions in the public sphere, while the female's domain is interpreted as being within the home, where she is involved in household tasks and childrearing. This dichotomization into the public domain of the male and the private domain of the female is a conceptualization -- albeit somewhat simplified -- which can be taken as the idealized traditional norm.

Given these sociocultural constraints, the mobility of rural women in the public sphere is often restricted by one means or another, the degree of which varies from family to family and also according to residence pattern, class, ethnic group, and age of the individual. These variations will be discussed in more detail in later sections of this report, and at this point it is simply necessary to note that it is within the private sphere that many rural women carry out a variety of income generating activities.

In this sociocultural study rural women's traditional roles are presented along with their ideas about change. Then, in conclusion, a series of recommendations is presented about how the economic and social status of rural women in Baluchistan can be improved through BIAD/UNICEF-related activities which, correspondingly, has the potential for improving child welfare in general.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data contained in this report dealing with rural women's income generating activities in Baluchistan ^{2/} was obtained during fieldwork in the summer and fall of 1983, when sociocultural research pertaining to the BIAD programme was undertaken in one experimental area ^{3/} near Quetta -- Aghbarg -- and in three districts of the province in which the programme is active -- Loralai, Nasirabad, and Gwadar. (See Map A.) A short description of each region in which fieldwork was conducted will place our later discussion in proper perspective:

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- ^{2/} This is a topic about which little data has been assembled to date. Pastner (1971, 1978) does note some of the economic roles of Baluch women in Panjgur, as does Sultana (1980) for Baluch women in a suburban community near Quetta.
- ^{3/} When the BIAD programme was in its initial stages in the early 1980s it was felt that this area which is in close proximity to Quetta was ideal for conducting field trials and training activities prior to wider implementation in the districts. The programme has continued subsequently in Aghbarg.

regarding parda. The team must also continually motivate both men and women of the villages to understand the purpose of the centre and BIAD's integrated activities. Local customs pertaining to parda must be observed at the centre; in most cases this will mean that a certain portion of the building and compound should be designated for females only, or special times must be devoted for only female activities in the centre.

In speaking with our respondents about the community centres and their mobility, in all districts most women said that they probably could attend centre activities if their husbands permitted and if the centre was nearby. The first point indicates the crucial importance of motivation for males in the villages; the community centres must be perceived as legitimate places for women to appear. The second point relates to women's time allocation; they must have easy access to the centre or they will not have enough time in their busy daily schedules to attend. This holds special importance because a variety of training activities are scheduled to be held at such centres and, indeed,

...most women face the double burden of both domestic and economic responsibility which men do not ...
(and) in participating in a training program, many women are in fact called upon to meet a "triple burden" -- domestic duties, work, and training.
(International Center For Research on Women, 1980:11)

As mentioned above, attempts should be made for traditional income generating activities to be enhanced, and it is the BIAD social worker's role to know what women in her district are traditionally doing in order to make money. She should conduct basic research concerning this, utilizing the outline of topics we have employed in our research (Appendix B) or an abbreviated version of such, and find out what village women and girls are interested in.

Each district and, indeed, cluster will perhaps vary as to type of traditional economic activity and interests, and plans must be tailor-made to allow for such variation. Some examples of activities include the following:

1. A number of women mentioned that they were interested in tailoring, and training in both beginning and advanced work in this area could be started for females at the local community centre -- in both traditional and modern style.
2. Market research and development should be undertaken for a variety of traditional products. For example, more profitable markets should be set up for the exquisite embroidery of rural Baluchistan. In this process, attempts must be made to preserve the high quality of the work. In a number of cases our respondents asked us to transport their work to market and sell it for them.

The same is true with quilt making, especially in the case of the colorful rilli. The mobile team social worker should provide local women with new designs and color schemes, and markets should be expanded.

Dari (flat-weave rugs) are presently very popular in urban areas. Village women should be encouraged to weave these and links with urban markets should be fostered. Women with whom we spoke who were weaving dari said that they enjoyed this work and would like to continue it; they were in need of tools and materials, however.

Market development is also called for in the case of reed mat weaving and bead-work.

3. During our research, many women asked for assistance in improving the health of their chickens. Social workers should arrange for immunizations and should provide information about housing, feeding, medicines, etc. Small poultry farms should be fostered and markets for both fowl and eggs should be developed.
4. Women engaged in various activities should be encouraged to form local income-generating groups and to pool their resources in the form of rotating credit schemes. These self-help groups or "communities" could assume marketing responsibilities also.

In addition to building upon traditional undertakings, with careful planning new income generating activities can also be implemented in the BIAD clusters.

1. New activities could include such undertakings as:

- soap making
- vegetable growing
- food processing/drying/packaging
- ginger
- mushrooms
- onions
- tomatoes
- other spices

silkworm raising (in areas where mulberries are grown)

All of these examples would necessitate an orientation/training period for interested participants at the community centre and/or in their individual households, and the social worker herself would of course have to know the subject thoroughly. Market development would also be called for.

2. Another new income generating activity is the establishment of silk-screening units in selected clusters. Silk-screening is a process of printing cloth by passing ink/dye through pre-cut stencils or screens. Through this method it is possible to develop posters on cloth with health and educational messages, print colorful patterned materials for tailoring, and print patterns for embroidery.

To date, a series of silk-screen posters have already been developed by Razia Zafar (Consultant, UNICEF/Quetta) who will also serve as advisor for the silk-screen activities. Printed in Lahore, these health and education posters made especially for the BIAD programme include the following topics:

- a. Breastfeeding
- b. Use of cup and spoon in infant feeding
- c. Hand-washing
- d. Oral Rehydration Solution for diarrhoea treatment
- e. Immunizations
- f. Weight-for-height chart
- g. Alphabet chart in Urdu

Initially the first printing unit will be established in the BIAD community center in Mastung Road, one of the programme's clusters of villages in the Kalat district. Interested women of the area will be trained in the skills of silk-screen printing, and they will also be employed in the unit; subsequently they will run the unit themselves.

Markets will correspondingly be developed for the products -- both locally and among government offices in urban centres.

3. Related to the establishment of the silk-screening unit and other above activities is the training of participating village women in a number of associated skills which include:

management
leadership
marketing

A series of special workshops along with practical on-the-job training must be initiated. This can be integrated with BIAD's educational activities, as basic literacy and arithmetic will also be valuable tools for the participants.

VI. CONCLUSION

Rural women of Baluchistan can profit from a variety of BIAD/UNICEF activities to foster both traditional and new economic undertakings in their village communities. Of most importance, efforts must be made in all cases to organize women's work in a more productive fashion and to integrate women's efforts more into the mainstream of the economy.

We have ascertained that traditionally women most frequently do have control over the small amount of money they make, and that it is often spent on their children's livelihood. If BIAD/UNICEF's income generating activities are successful, what will be the result of an increase in the amount of money obtained by women in relation to the health and nutritional status of their children?

Much additional sociocultural research needs to be conducted in order to better understand the relationship between income generated by women, how this is subsequently distributed within their households, and the health/nutrition of their offspring. Our initial research presented here has just begun to explore these factors. Bennett (1983) has outlined the complexity of this problem in a recent discussion of the role of women in income production and intrahousehold allocation of resources as a determinant of child health and nutrition, and notes that:

...the most useful information in terms of concrete project design and formulation of country-level policy by governments in the developing world is likely to be the insight gained from in-depth observation of how men, women, and children in poor families work out their individual and collective strategies for survival. (p. 15)

BIAD/UNICEF's integrated activities in the area of women's income generation along with health and nutrition in rural Baluchistan present excellent opportunity for future in-depth research in this area.

APPENDIX A

BALUCHISTAN AND THE BIAD PROGRAMME

Baluchistan is by far the largest province in Pakistan, covering an area of 347,000 square kilometers which is 43% of the total country. It has a very dispersed population of only 5.3 million, however, as compared to the nation's total of 85.5 million. With a rural-urban ratio of 84:16, the majority of the populace lives in small villages scattered throughout vast tracts of mountains and deserts (See Map A).

Major ethnic groups include Pushtun, Baluch, and Brahvi, each with its own specific linguistic and sociocultural characteristics. In general, Pushtuns inhabit the northern sections of the province while Baluch and Brahvi predominate further south. Urdu, the lingua franca of Pakistan, is understood and spoken by most rural males but very few females throughout Baluchistan.

Almost 100% of the populace in Muslim and, in this conservative environment, women's place is in the home. Female mobility is usually restricted to household in Pushtun villages where parda (curtain; seclusion) is observed, or to community in Baluch and Brahvi settlements where tenets are not quite so strict. This holds important implications for development activities involving women such as the BIAD programme.

Similarly it is important to note that, as far as literacy is concerned, only 8.2% of Baluchistan's inhabitants can read and write; this includes 12.5% of the males in the province and only 2.9% of the females.

In the area of health, infant and child morbidity and mortality rates are extremely high. For example, a recent socio-economic survey sets forth the rate of 150/1000 as Baluchistan's infant mortality rate. Initial BIAD research of a quantitative nature identifies gastro-intestinal infections in children as most common, and in a series of village clusters near Quetta it was found that 73.9% of all children's deaths were accompanied by diarrhoea.

Undernutrition is another widespread problem among both children and mothers in the province. Again utilizing quantitative data from the BIAD survey, in a series of villages near Quetta 15.7% of the children exhibited 3^o undernutrition, while 23.8% showed 1^o and 2^o undernutrition.

In addition, the incidence of communicable diseases remains high in Baluchistan. Especially respiratory infections are common, and ear infections, skin rashes, and abscesses are other frequent complaints. Also, a wide array of complications during pregnancy and childbirth confront women, and this dangerous situation is reflected in the high maternal mortality estimates of 8-10/1000.

This has been a brief profile of the formidable environment in which the BIAD (Baluchistan Integrated Area Development) programme is functioning. It is sponsored by the provincial government of Baluchistan and also receives international assistance through UNICEF. Donors include the EEC, the Netherlands, and CIDA. Total assistance is approximately US \$35 million.

The basic objective of BIAD is to improve the health status and quality of life of the rural populace of the province. Its integrated activities are diverse, and focus upon the implementation of community development schemes which stress village participation. Over the initial period of 1982-1986, the BIAD package of integrated undertakings includes:

- 1). provision of potable water systems and general village sanitation (e.g. the construction of individual household sanitary latrines)
- 2). mother and child health care delivery and health education through trained CHWs (Community Health Workers) and local dais (traditional midwives)
- 3). income generating activities for women
- 4). basic literacy training for women
- 5). construction of multipurpose community centres

Mobile technical teams are presently active in four of the seventeen districts throughout the province (Loralai, Nasirabad, Gwadar, and Kalat), with additional districts being incorporated into the programme (See Map A).

Each mobile team is composed of five members:

- 1 male medical technician
- 1 Lady Health Visitors (LHV)
- 1 male sanitarian
- 1 female social worker
- 1 female teacher

Clusters of 4-5 villages are visited by the mobile team periodically, with approximately 40 villages (or 8 clusters) in each district participating in the BIAD programme. Cluster committees of villagers are formed and these bodies then select male and female volunteers from each community to serve as Community Health Workers (CHWs).

The CHWs are trained by the district mobile teams. Training materials for CHWs include a series of manuals and flip charts on the following topics:

<u>MANUALS:</u>	Diarrhoea
	Nutrition
	First Aid
	Immunization
	Common Clinical Problems

<u>FLIP CHARTS:</u>	Diarrhoea
	Nutrition

Also utilized in CHW training is a UNICEF field kit which is well-equipped with supplies and medicines. Each CHW receives one of these kits during his or her training period.

The Lady Health Visitor (LHV) on each district mobile team is responsible for training the dais (traditional midwives) in the communities. These active women are illiterate but usually very experienced in mother and child health care delivery. Training is competency-based and practical. A fully equipped dai field kit is also provided to each of the women during the training period.

The social worker and teacher are the team members primarily responsible for developing BIAD income generating activities for women in the various villages.

In all communities participating in the BIAD programme, baseline household surveys are also conducted by the district mobile teams. The purpose of this is to enable the cluster-specific development of operational plans and also to establish baselines for evaluating the programme's impact over time. For each household, general data is collected about the unit's socio-economic standing, fuel and water sources, excreta disposal, and other related topics. In addition, infants and children 0-5 years of age are screened by taking arm circumference measurements and also weighing in order to determine nutritional status.

Demographic data assembled in the baseline household survey also allows for the immunization of children 5 years of age and under for the six major illnesses of tuberculosis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus, polio, and measles, and this is one of the major initial activities of the BIAD mobile teams. Normal side-effects of the injections are often misunderstood, and thus constant motivation and follow-up is crucial so that the series of three injections is successfully completed.

APPENDIX B

DISCUSSION TOPICS ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

A. GENERAL DATA

1. Name
2. Husband's/Son's Name
3. Location (village, cluster, district)
4. Age
5. Number of children/ages
6. Number of people in household/family structure/number of female adults

B. BASIC ECONOMIC DATA

1. Socio-economic standing of household (observation)
2. What is your husband's/son's occupation?
3. How many people work (for cash or kind) in this family?
Who? What do they do? Where?
4. Does anybody work for you?
Who? What do they do?
5. What bazaar does your family go to most often? How far away?
Who goes?

C. WOMEN'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

HANDICRAFTS

1. Do you do any embroidery?

IF YES

What kind?

Is this for use in your own household?

Do you sell any of your work?

IF YES

To whom?

At what cost?

Where? (in bazaar, in homes, etc.)

What materials do you use?

Who supplies these materials?

If you buy the materials yourself,
what is their cost? Where do you
buy them? Who buys them?

2. Ask similar questions for:

tailoring
spinning of wool
weaving dari
quilt-making
etc. (enlarge)

FOODSTUFFS (production/selling/etc.)

Ask similar questions for:	egg selling	vegetables/fruits
	hens/chicks	baked goods
	milk	prepared foods
	ghee	dried spices
		etc. (enlarge)

OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES FOR WOMEN

Ask similar questions for:

teacher of Quran	
<u>dai</u>	}
bonesetter	
bleeder	
burner	
herbalist	
servant	
cook	}
cleaning women	
laundress	
dishwasher	
breadmaker	
babysister	
laborer (in fields, etc.)	
Seasonal?	
etc. (enlarge)	

health practitioner

Whom do you work for?

ASK FOR ANY OF RESPONDENT'S ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

D. LOCATION

1. Where do you do this work? (in own home, outside home, etc.)
2. If outside of home, how far away?

E. TIME OF WORK, ETC.

1. How often do you work? (how many hours per day/what days)
2. What time of day do you work?
3. How long have you worked at this?
4. How did you learn this?
5. Why do you work at this? What does your husband think about your working?

F. PAYMENT

1. How are you reimbursed? By whom? (i.e. who are your customers?)
 - In kind?
 - What? Amount?
 - In cash?
 - How much?
2. Approximately how much do you make in a week/month?
3. What do you do with your reimbursement? (kind/cash)
 - Used for your family?
 - Subsistence?
 - food
 - clothing
 - household goods
 - health care
 - Used for yourself?
 - If so, for what?
 - Used for something else?
 - If so, what?

G. **HOUSEHOLD BUDGET**

1. Who manages your household budget?

H. **NEW ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, BIAD, ETC.**

1. How could your present activity be improved?
2. If you could choose, what kind of economic activities would you prefer to do?
3. How much free time do you have? When?
4. What do you do with your free time?
5. Have you heard of BIAD? If so, what do you think about it?

I. **MOBILITY, ETC.**

1. Can you leave your compound?

IF YES How often do you go out? (every day, once every week, etc.)
Why? (to bazaar, visiting, weddings, etc.)
To where?
How far away?

2. Would you be able to meet in a nearby community centre for BIAD programme activities?

IF YES Where should this centre be located?

IF NO Why not?

AGHBARG:

The communities located in the Aghbarg area are situated in a wide valley which is about 25 km. west of Quetta. The majority of the population is Pushtun, although some Baluch and Erahvi households are also present. Farming is the major occupation of heads of household, with the major crops being wheat and vegetables such as onions, potatoes, and tomatoes. Water sources for the valley include karez (underground canal systems) and open surface wells. There are no bazaars per se in the area but each village has one or two small shops, and a dispensary is in the community of Baboozai. Buses carry passengers frequently to nearby Quetta via a paved road.

LORALAI:

The Loralai region is mountainous, with villages scattered throughout long fertile valleys. Major crops include wheat and a variety of fruits such as apples, pomegranates, and apricots. Small plots of land and gardens are usually individually owned by the Pushtun farmers. Water sources for communities include natural streams, small canals, and some wells. BIAD villages researched for this report are all located within 15 km. of the city of Loralai where a hospital and other modern medical services are available, along with large bazaars.

NASIRABAD:

In the plains of Nasirabad, each BIAD community of Baluch contains one wealthy landlord (wadera) with his many laborers (hari) and their families who work in the fields of rice and wheat. Water sources include large man-made canals, small feeder channels, and some rain water catchments. The area researched is seriously waterlogged at present. The trading center of Sobatpur is a distance of approximately 10 km., where doctors' clinics are found. In some scattered villages small government dispensaries are also found; every community usually has a small shop or two.

GWADAR:

The Baluch of Gwadar's coastal villages are fishermen, also growing some pulses, melons, and corn on small plots inland. Date trees are also found in some communities. Water is obtained from rain water catchments of from surface wells. Towns nearby are Gwadar and Jawani, where hospital services are found along with a number of private doctors' clinics -- and bazaars.

Exact distribution of the respondents interviewed in the various districts is included in Table 1 on the next page. Our sample contains a total of 34 women interviewed.

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TABLE 1 : DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVIEWS ON INCOME GENERATION
WITH RURAL WOMEN IN BALUCHISTAN

District	Village/Cluster	No. of Women Interviewed
Aghbarg/ Quetta	Rundozai/Baboozai	7
	Baboozai/Baboozai	3
	Khalozai/Mehrabzai	3
	Mehrabzai/Mehrabzai	1
	Sub-Total	14
Loralai	Oriagi/Oriagi	3
	Zingiwal/Zingiwal	3
	Dargai Kodazai Khord/Kodazai	1
	Dargai Kodazai/Kodazai	1
	Sub-Total	8
Nasirabad	Goth Azam Khan/Abdul Rashid	1
	Goth Ahmed Khan/Abdul Rashid	1
	Goth Abdul Karim/Abdul Rashid	1
	Goth Habibkot/Gohar Khan	1
	Goth Abdul Karim/Gohar Khan	1
	Goth Allah Dina Rind/ Goth Allah Dina Rind	1
	Sub-Total	6
Gwadar	Chip Kalmati/Chip Kalmati	1
	Chip Rekani/Chip Kalmati	1
	Ganz/Ganz	1
	Panwan/Bandri	1
	Bandri/Bandri	1
	Gabd/Gabd	1
	Sub-Total	6
	TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN INTERVIEWED	34

The districts in which we have worked are not only in the northern sections of the province, which are largely inhabited by Pushtuns, but also in central and southern sections, in which the Baluch and Brahvi reside. Thus our sample contains representatives of three different ethnic groups: Pushtun, Baluch, and Brahvi. Table 2 contains exact information about the ethnicity of our sample. In general, individuals from Aghbarg are Pushtun and Brahvi, those from Loralai are Pushtun, and respondents from

Nasirabad and Gwadar are Baluch. In later sections of this report various ethnic differences in the status and role of women as they pertain to their economic activities will be noted.

TABLE 2 : ETHNICITY OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED

Ethnic Group	Number
Pushtun	17
Baluch	14
Brahvi	3
Total:	34

Fieldwork was carried out by UNICEF social scientists (Pamela Hunte, Project Officer, UNICEF/Quetta, and Farhat Sultana, Assistant Project Officer, UNICEF/Quetta). Members of the BIAD mobile teams, especially the LHVs who know the communities well, also frequently assisted in locating women who are active in income generating activities.

We encountered little difficulty in locating these village women. Usually by simply approaching a few homes and asking if any women does work for which she receives payment of any sort we were able to locate suitable respondents. Women who did not engage in such activity frequently referred us to their acquaintances who did. In addition, sometimes we received the suggestion to "go to poor people's homes" because women of these households were perceived to usually work for payment. As other research in village households was carried out, 4/ we often encountered women also engaged in income generating activities and thus subsequently interviewed them on this topic too.

After we carefully explained the purpose of our research, none of the 34 women contacted refused to speak with us, although those who had not heard of the BIAD programme showed some initial reservations. However, after describing the programme in detail, the women were glad to participate in our discussions.

Specific field techniques included 1.) participant-observation and 2.) structured conversations. To as great a degree of possible, we attempted to participate in the social events taking place, while at the same time carefully observing interaction. In many cases a number of the respondent's family members were also present -- usually women and children of all ages. Some individuals continued with their household tasks of food preparation or did handiwork as conversation progressed.

4/ See other sociocultural research reports pertaining to the BIAD programme on 1.) the dai (traditional midwife), 2.) water and sanitation, and 3.) undernutrition among infants and children.

A variety of languages have been used during this field research. This includes primarily Pushtu and Baluch, along with Brahvi and Sindi in some instances, with frequent exchanges in Urdu and translation into English. Most women interviewed speak only local languages.

Appendix B contains an outline of specific topics covered in our structured conversations with these individuals. First of all, personal data was obtained concerning the woman and her family, and then a series of topics on basic economic information was covered about all family members' income generating activities. The majority of time was spent discussing women's specific economic activities in detail; subjects such as time, location, and reimbursement of work along with training and reasons for such activity were covered. In addition, some general discussion about management of the household budget was included. Conversation also dealt with how the women felt that improvements could be made in their present income generating activities, their amount of free time, and their general impressions of the BIAD programme. In addition, mobility patterns and possible community centre location and attendance were covered. The information assembled during these discussions forms the basis of this report.

III. A GENERAL PROFILE OF THE WORKING VILLAGE WOMAN

This section presents some basic characteristics of the women in our sample (N=34) who do work for which they receive payment in either cash or kind. Table 3 on the next pages contains a summary of these attributes.

The women are relatively young, with the majority being in the 26-35 years and 36-45 years age brackets. Their average age is 38 years.

As mentioned above, three ethnic groups are represented:

1.) Pushtun (N=17), 2.) Baluch (N=14), and 3.) Brahvi (N=3).

More than half of our sample (N=19) lives in nuclear family units, each of which contains a married couple and their offspring. The remainder of the women in the sample (N=14) resides in extended family units which contain at least three generations -- most commonly a married couple, their married son(s), daughter(s)-in-law, and grandchildren. In this extended family structure more than one adult woman is present, which allows for more distribution of household tasks and which often provides women more time to devote to income generating activities.

Partially relating to the large proportion of extended family units, the total number of people in half of these women's households ranges from 6 to 10. The average size is 7 persons in a household.

Concerning socio-economic standing, about 60% (N=21) of the women come from households which are poor in comparison to others in the community. Some 40% (N=13) are also from average households, while there is no representation from the high socio-economic category whatsoever.

TABLE 3 : GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF WORKING WOMEN INTERVIEWED (N=34)

	Characteristics		Number
1.	AGE (years) (Average : 38 years)	16-25	3
		26-35	13
		36-45	12
		46-55	4
		55 or above	2
	Total		34
2.	ETHNICITY	Pushtun	17
		Baluch	14
		Brahvi	3
	Total		34
3.	FAMILY STRUCTURE	Nuclear	19
		Extended	14
		No Answer	1
	Total		34
4.	NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLD (Average : 7 people per household)	1-5	10
		6-10	17
		11-15	4
		16 or above	1
		No Answer	2
	Total		34
5.	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STANDING	High	-
		Average	13
		Low	21
	Total		34
6.	HUSBAND'S (OR SON'S) OCCUPATION	Farm laborer	9
		Servant/watchman	5
		Farmer/landlord	4
		Shopkeeper	2
		Hired fisherman	2
		Unemployed	2
		Shepherd	1
		Student	1
		Mullah	1
		Jeep driver	1
		Boat repairer	1
		(cont.)	

	Characteristics		Number
		Soldier (in Muscat) Public Drummer/Singer No Answer	1 1 3
		Total	34
7.	MARITAL STATUS (3 female heads of household)	Married Widowed	29 5
		Total	34
8.	NUMBER OF CHILDREN (AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN = 4)	0-1 2-3 4-5 6-7 8 or more No Answer	3 12 8 5 4 2
		Total	34
9.	FORMAL EDUCATION		0
10.	ABILITY TO READ THE QURAN		2
11.	INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES (Total number of times mentioned; some women engaged in more than one activity)	Embroidery Tailoring Egg Selling Quilt Making Wool Spinning Field Labor <u>Dari</u> (Flat-Weave Rug) Making Chicken Selling Reed Mat Weaving Quran Teaching House-to-House Trading <u>Dai</u> Work (Traditional Midwifery) Ghee Selling <u>Tawiz</u> (Amulet) Cover Making Public Singing (At Ceremonies)	21 18 8 8 6 4 4 2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1
		Total	82
12.	REASONS FOR UNDERTAKING INCOME GENERATION	Due to poverty To help the household budget	22 12
		Total	34

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WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES IN RURAL BALUCHISTAN



BIAD/UNICEF SOCIOCULTURAL RESEARCH REPORT#2

UNICEF

QUETTA BALUCHISTAN

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WOMEN'S INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES

IN

RURAL BALUCHISTAN



by

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April 1984

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**MAP A. RESEARCH AREAS IN BALUCHISTAN FOR STUDY
OF WOMEN'S
INCOME GENERATING ACTIVITIES**

